

History 162  
Contemporary America

Spring Semester, 1978

Dr. Jelinek

In this course, we will examine the important political, social, economic, intellectual and diplomatic themes in twentieth century United States history. Our primary purpose will be to gain an understanding of how urbanization, immigration-assimilation, industrialization, political centralization, affluence and two world wars have shaped: 1) the role and status of the individual in society, 2) the interrelationships of groups, and 3) the character of critical public and private, local and national institutions.

The following books are required reading for the course:

James T. Patterson, America in the Twentieth Century, New York:  
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1976.

Harry Russel Huebel, Things in the Driver's Seat: Readings in Popular Culture, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1972.

Each student will be required to write an essay. The essay will have two purposes. The first purpose will be for each student to state his or her opinion of why the study of history is important or unimportant. Based upon this opinion, the second purpose will be for each student to state his or her opinion of what it is that a history professor should be doing for, with and to students taking a survey history course as a general education requirement. To help you, copies of three opinions written on these issues by historians have been put on reserve in the Periodical Room of the library.

Your essay should be 5 to 7 pages in length. It must be typed. The essay will be due by the end of lecture on Friday, April 21. Late essays turned in by 5 p.m. on Friday will be given a grade penalty of one half grade (for example, from B- to C+). Late essays turned in by Wednesday, April 26 will be given a grade penalty of one full grade (for example, from B- to C-). Essays will not be accepted after lecture on Wednesday, April 26.

Your course grade will be determined by three in term examinations, the essay assignment and a final examination. Each of the in term examinations will count 15 percent of your grade. The essay will count 25 percent of your grade, and the final examination will count 30 percent.

My office is Huesman 19. My office hours are Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 11-12 and Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:30 to 4. From 1-2 on Fridays, I will meet with those students who, individually or collectively, wish to discuss the week's readings and lectures. If you can not see me at these times, make an appointment with me for a mutually convenient time. My telephone number is 642-2808.

History 162  
Contemporary America

Spring Semester, 1978

Dr. Jelinek

Lecture Topics and Suggested Reading Schedule

**Week 1** Contours of United States History: 1890-1910  
2-6 Introduction  
2-8 Immigration, Urbanization, Industrialization and Imperialism  
2-10 Populism  
Patterson, 3-33 and Huebel, 1-45

**Week 2** Progressivism  
2-13 The Climate of Opinion  
2-15 The Square Deal of Theodore Roosevelt  
2-17 The New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson  
Patterson, 35-99 and Huebel, 46-59

**Week 3** World War I  
2-20 The Principles of Wilsonian Diplomacy: Mexico and Europe  
2-22 The Great War  
2-24 The Impact of the War on the Domestic Front  
Patterson, 101-145

**Week 4** The Aftermath  
2-27 The Search for a Peace  
3-1 The Red Scare  
3-3 FIRST IN TERM EXAMINATION  
Patterson, 145-155

---

**Week 5** The 1920's: The Selling of Americanism  
3-6 Immigration Restriction, Prohibition and Fundamentalism  
3-8 The Rise of the Ad Mass Society/The Politics of Normalcy  
3-10 SECOND IN TERM EXAMINATION  
Patterson, 157-195 and Huebel, 60-77

**Week 6** The Great Depression  
3-13 Causes  
3-15 The Social Dimensions of the Depression  
3-17 Hoover's Policies  
Patterson, 197-223 and Huebel, 78-108

**Week 7** Easter Recess

**Week 8** The New Deal  
3-27 The New Deal: 1932-1935  
3-29 The New Deal: 1936-1938  
3-31 Assessing the New Deal  
Patterson, 225-265 and Huebel, 109-119

**Week 9** The Road to World War II and World War II  
4-3 THIRD IN TERM EXAMINATION  
4-5 Diplomacy: 1920-1941  
4-7 The Search for Victory  
Patterson, 267-307

Week 10 World War II and the Cold War  
4-10 The Search for Peace  
4-12 The Home Front  
4-14 The Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman  
Patterson, 307-369 and Huebel, 121-136

Week 11 The Eisenhower Era: 1953-1960  
4-17 The Republican Party Struggles to Live with the Welfare State  
4-19 John Foster Dulles and Foreign Policy  
4-21 The Nifty Fifties  
Patterson, 371-409 and Huebel, 137-160

Week 12 The Troubled 1960's  
4-24 Social Turmoil  
4-26 The New Frontier and The Great Society  
4-28 (No Class)  
Patterson, 411-447 and Huebel, 161-214

Week 13 The Search for Detente  
5-1 Cuba and Berlin  
5-3 Viet Nam  
5-5 1968  
Patterson, 449-483 and Huebel, 224-251

Week 14 Nixon and Ford  
5-8 Losing the War  
5-10 Losing the Presidency  
5-12 The Continuation of Social Turmoil  
Patterson, 485-519 and Huebel, 215-223

Week 15 Looking Beyond  
5-15 The Welfare State in Trouble  
5-17 Can the United States Solve Its Problems within a Democratic Context?  
5-19 Review  
Huebel, 252-266

Unfinished  
Wild Bill  
As they used to say  
Fangs  
Halloween  
Mormon Jokes

2/10/78

- 1919 - "deterioration" of A. Society

- seems thru ~~disorder~~ influx of immigrants -

Nativists: "they'll destroy A."

vs: Must know the truth -- what do people think is true

No race/race superior/inferior!!

"why do they believe what they believe?"

"what do we take as true?"

- Nativists: "they can't melt into our culture?" True  
"destroy A." false

WWI majority of imm. faithful  
assumed to have inferior culture.

imm. <sup>of</sup> went in ghetto areas

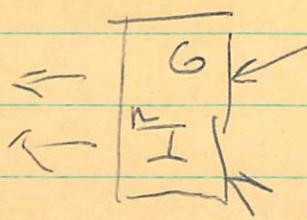
3rd

2nd

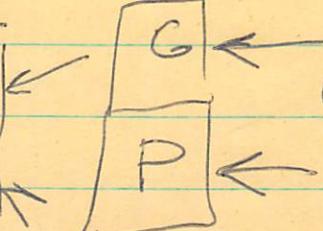
1<sup>st</sup>



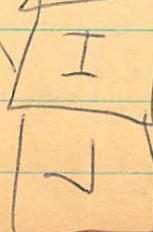
mix



←



←



In reality, assimilation  
you can't prevent it -

local live in does  
affect -

1<sup>st</sup> gen. maintain custom

2<sup>nd</sup> gen. wants to fit

3<sup>rd</sup> gen. raise not have custom  
reject what custom

2/24/78

## Submarine warfare

Absolute right for neutral ~~citizen~~ <sup>citizen</sup> ship to travel  
on belligerent ship w/o threat of being sunk

### Dignity of Neutral

WW: "strict accountability" international code of law says  
Amer. have right to ride British ship  
on the high seas to England

Bryan: this principle is stupid, it will cause nothing  
but war.

March 1916 ~~Sixus~~ - French ship sunk w/o war!

May 1916 Germ. agrees - to search and sink  
why? Germ. is winning the war - no  
reason to antagonize WW.

strict accountability: good in ~~short~~ <sup>short</sup> term, but strategic  
error in long run - in essence to  
giving the initiative to foreign policy in the  
hands of the Germans

- letting others make our decisions or  
policies: who does.

early 1917 - war against Germ. Germ. losing

Feb 1, 1917 - no more search & sink

Feb 2, 1917 - WW breaks diplomatic relations

"all socialist (don't believe in war) are traitors"

(German Socialist) Burger 3 times ~~had~~ opposed war, 3 times refused to be seated 3 times.

Should we go to war? { people  
govt

Someone protests the war - goes to jail!

'if you spoke badly of the uniform etc. you go to jail - 1000s American went to jail for being pacifists or neutral -

Socialist Pres. candidate - jailed 'cause he spoke out against war

In modern war can't allow dissent - costs to fight - need the ~~popul~~ peoples backing for efficiency

- war breeds intolerance -

when society is under tension - rights are suspended

Producers created "ITT" - ~~Anti~~ Anti-British

Producers jailed, war was contested

didn't create unity of public opinion - so it created it.

period after WWI failure - should we have fought it? any other war would have happened

US not Allied - just Associated;

- Wilson wants to dictate peace! - we wanted superior position!

English; French resentful of US position  
casualties ↓  
wanted their to be replacements  
but they won't have it.

+

March 1, 1978

Exam!!

Captitalize on the important factors dealing  
with the problem - in an essay  
capture the essence of the issue!



3 exams

Roosevelt 1902 Know major periods

Populism 1896

Progressive

WWI 1914 - 1917

Red Scare - if women are important

minorities " " "

Red Scare

Psychologist - Sociologist: etc. some are always  
willing to get into "itchiness"

- ① immigrants - Political Radical, minorities
- ② Internal enemies that are serious threat
- ③ Patriotic reawakening

1900 Irish Catholic must marry Irish Catholic not  
Italian Catholic

Today Catholic must marry Catholic!

student: should feel comfortable in several cultures

Problem of cultural threat ①

" " economical threat ②

lower standard of living

- less wages

- longer hours

- bad conditions -

- strike breakers: (clash between cultures)

worsen in Europe etc

Problem of political threat ③:

political machine  $\Rightarrow$  immigrants new in area

political rep in ghetto: find mini. place

to stay // jobs / turkey at Christmas

- buying and selling of vote

Problem of loyalty:

WWI test

1890 - 1919: mex. imm. - small number of mex -  
Southern until 1910 - 1000's after ① Revolution

② mex/amer. Railway!

Mex - visible immigrants in SW

Blacks at W&I move to Rural south

to Urban south to the Northern cities

(North + West opposed to Slavery - but not pro. black)

- 1900 Chinese establish in Cal

- Japanese influx in Cal: "The yellow peril!"

we must over cultural isolation!

contact - we're human

Grant, Madison, The Passing of the Great Race,

→ example of tension in society because a lack  
of contact. deep prob.

Primitive culture can't assimilate that well - slow process

---

2/17/79

- The decline of populism -

1890 -

William Jennings Bryan - once demo.

ran on populous presidential ticket - democrats

gold standard nominate him also as their candidate

- reason U.S. maintain "democracy"

2 party system: we maintain 2 parties -  
not 8 or 10.

- "washy-washy" - shift with the desire of the  
people.

Election: politicking all is read! So newspapers  
were highly bias -

1902:

~~Pop~~ Populous movement - probable that Roosevelt's  
V.P. office brought in -

1<sup>st</sup> modern president T. Roosevelt.

using govt power to change society - serve the  
people - presidency to be powerful dynamic w/  
a program

women

NNAOP

Labor movement

} "Demanding reform"

Is it good to have big companies?

## Roosevelt - NEW NATIONALISM

efficiency; minimize bigness

### ① Powerful Presidency

"The steward of the people."

### ② Set out to really define what the National Problems were: no longer passive obs.

- 1<sup>st</sup> time sent out specialists ~~into~~ into the field  
sight problems - then acts upon findings.  
Powerful Executive.

### ③ Big business is not inherently bad

Industrialization with lead to better quality of life

- We need to regulate not dismantle big business  
"As long as they serve the public good."

- "Steward of the people"

"Trust buster"

NE RR - Roosevelt felt that ~~that~~ this was bad  
situation <sup>they</sup> sell trust for more than worth.

President has responsibility to serve people

- New emancipator

sought the black vote - appoint blacks to  
offices in govt, invited Booker T. Washington  
to Washington 1<sup>st</sup> black invited officially to DC

- Ecology - developed by National Park System:

Department of Commerce - created by Teddy.  
Fact finding bureau independent of  
companies / nations

2/20/78

→ The New Nationalism (the Square Deal)

→ The New Freedom.

Robert La Follette

Woodrow Wilson's domestic policy

- Wed. discussion in U.S. entry into WWI -

when society is at war it becomes autocratic -

(case of WWI + I + Vietnam)

N.F. restatement of Jeffersonian concept of "each man is an individual."

Wilson to Kennedy: liberals "State can do it!"

R. Nixon: welfare, is responsibility of welfare & its citizens - to a minimal amount (conservative).

Does govt have the right to investigate what you do?

F. mod. presidents

→ Roosevelt: govt must involve itself w/ citizens  
must maintain large concentration of power but govt  
regulated

strong executive: fed. govt to activity protect gen.

public - concentrations of power are not inherently  
~~not~~ democratic - competition!

capitalism prob.: larger bigger companies ~~that~~ out  
strip lesser companies - laying off - monopoly

## Welfare Capitalism

Automobile: 1 type & concentration good!

should you break up these concentrations

Wilson - they should be broken up -

Nationalism: active pres.

Underwood-Simmons tariff: high tariff -

all through 1900s new high tariff to tax incoming goods.

- maintaining the quality of life vs. maintaining competitive capitalism.

concentration & power do we want one.

- Wilson: Business - con. of power

over 1st term: Govt = labor = Business con. of power  
counter-vailing Power.

then Wilson involved

tariff: increase competition (lower tariffs on imports)

1913 - Fed. income tax - Supreme Court (unconstitutional)

↳ progressive tax - more you make, more you pay!

regressive tax - sales tax everybody pays to same.

Govt must have funds to support fed. bureaucracy

- historical govt supported by tariff - but tariff lowered needs income tax

1913 - Federal Reserve Act: govt had right to print money - but now, govt is able to control bank to help people

banks need money - borrow money to give you a loan - they set interest level.

~~Wilson wrote~~

1914 Fed-Trade Commission: maximizes competition.

1914 Adamson Act: railway worker 8 hr. day

"you're going to be productive you must have rest."  
at the time most work 6 day work week  
steel workers 7 day

- he was fed it is a fight for leisure

tries to ease the work load on a oppressed people.

Wilson considered most liberal pres til Roosevelt.

↳ doesn't establish New Nationalism is WWI

Systematic removal of Black & Fed. patronage: why?  
political reason: Democratic South: WW was a minority president - needed south white vote.

- Original WWI -

2/22/78

Impersonalization of war

- mass destruction -

Nerve gas - machine guns - tanks - planes

only based on defense - Philosophical/Religion

"Only God can ablate the earth."

1st of the absolute weapon: nerve gas? disbelief that though fragile - they are effective that many died

die 80 million - WWI

basic decline in the dignity of man

- industrialization & WWI - down it goes -  
man to man; nation to nation

"man is not in control of his technology or  
if he is he has lost his sense of dignity"

Factors to explain US entry into WWI

- ① unrestricted use of Submarine - ~~Germany~~
- ② Economic connection
- ③ Propaganda
- ④ America ~~as~~ as a world power
- ⑤ Protestant Democracy
  - The Hun Threat
- ⑥ Anglo-Saxon Cultural Ties

1917 Eve of Amer. entry / \$ 2.25 Billion Allied Power  
\$ 2.5 million central Power

why more trade with Eng. than Germ.:

easy trade accessibility - historical ties natural

why less trade with Eng. than Germ.:

investments in Eng. already

most of business men were neutral - had a big  
investment in Eng. & France.

Transatlantic cable - it started in Eng. all the  
Eng. & French atrocities withheld - Germ. atrocities  
seen

America as a world power: on eve of WWII we weren't. No army, no real navy, no air force.

- prior to WWII we borrowed more than loaned out - after WWII we hold the dough.

- Democratic society Army in the closet

- full volunteer army - eve of WWII US. 17<sup>th</sup> largest Army in the world --

draft army / voluntary army



prob.

monarchy / who your allies are?

Protect Democracy

① Constitutional Democracy - France

② " monarchy - England

③ " democracy - U.S.

④ Monarchy - Germany

What does Pr., Eng., do to conscientious

objector - execute or life imprisonment.

"we have to win this war!" can't tolerate CO's

wars in their lands!

no suspension of political liberties as in WWII

always happens is:

- boundaries of acceptable conduct is murky!
- social loss & direction "where are we going?"

- Examples

① 1650-90 Massachusetts colonists "witch hunt"

Puritan dualism breaks down -  
leads to "witch-hunt"

② 1870-90 Ghost dance phenomena

most Indians proud - but by this time  
they were under submission - "we have  
lost our values" Indian as noble nation  
dies - they take up Ghost dance -

→ if they conform to new standard - white man  
will die! result in

Nov.

1919

Potter raids -

250 arrested 39 deported

Radiants -

Dec 1919 24 aliens deported

4000 arrested

1917-1917 radical left split

no rational reason

Radical left at its  
worst

## Red Scare

1919 → 1950 McCarthyism

prejudice - creates a sense of value

Had to root out those that are danger

only thing constitution says that

anarchism is wrong; not communism  
etc.

All these views have right to exist in  
a democratic society —  
FREEDOM!

March 8, 1978

Added book not responsible

for pp. 46-59; 73-77; 137-141; 161-172; 173-180;  
235-244.

Altruistic Argument } Alcohol: it is unhealth "salvation", industrial safety,  
health & welfare & family

- Society must moral code: people must enforce on their own  
you can't legislate "alcohol" out of existence

Society doesn't want to enforce law

you will conform but on a broad base

- If you say all that is okay = chaos or anarchy

- but you can't compel folks to be saints - narrow road

Prohibition 1919 - '32 (33)

most effect way to dealing of these problems

is to raise moral fiber.

~~Unacceptable in immigration~~

A. N - W Europe

B. S E Europe

C. South Americans

Asian unacceptable

New York was to Europeans

L.A. is to Americans

Lines are made by ~~race~~ race not ethnicity

- integration of European nations

to

ad mass society

advertisers consumption :

people want a good life - all around 1920's

materialism (i.e., the rise of detergent, soap,

shaving legs or underarms of women)

- higher in society more "cleanliness."

Rise of Amer. manufacture; can produce consumer goods

1911-20: Henry Ford; "cheap & dependable" "you can have it in any color as long as it's black."

GM; "accessories, choice" in late 20's build a residence

import cars : "mass market folks in U.S. w/ luxury but don't want added options [added expense]."

"creating & need; meeting that need w/ built  
in obsolescence"

## Ad-mus goods

- There is a "relative" (note red) condition (i.e. wages) were better
- Rise of white collar workers - management elite.



Shift in mentality

March 20, 1978

1920's

progressive mov't { political } large prop. tried  
social to solve after  
cultural prog. mov't  
didn't change cont.

→ divorce -  
petting } adult ) increase  
illegal. child car )  
on individual way

1890 full beards

1895 - cut 'til '60s (same with long hair)

1920's - effect - to ad-mass

1920's Consciousness switching

what caused the change?

- dancing in openly sexual way
- "Sex-on-parade"

Intense political period (reform, war) tired at it -  
Important media form: magazines, Radio, movies.

Star System formed : Clark Beam ("The It-girl" sex girl) - prior to 20's movies develop no one character - all was scenes -

spectator sports develop - team to individual stars - heros close behind the business men.

(Levi class - white collar went influence - now show importance go w/o tie to show personal freedom) entertainment people are the ones that influence society -- enjoy, enjoy - movie; sport stars Mag. carry sex stories - but getting sex strips cheap way suggest what forms are acceptable or not Radio - advertising society

selling consumer goods. "You need X!!"  
All the advertising money used by Proctor & Gamble in one year exceeds all the money used for all political campaigns in the US in one year.

many are getting the modes etc., because they are told to --

women's liberation: not only political etc but "I want a divorce."

Clark Beam "sex is fine" '20's: abortions rise

sex disconnected from conception -

rise of religious Fundamentalism very high but effect

is red ~~lower~~ - religious - social conscious too etc.

Renaissance of Black Harlem - Black leader

feel the massing of Blacks is good we are separate  
but we will raise the standards - Harry ~~Burney~~  
"moving back to Africa," notion of do what were  
told to do - rise of Black consciousness

Double-edge sword - sincere dangers and those effected  
by Ad-mass

→ Adjustment of Politics - Coolidge - Harding - Hoover -  
return to 19<sup>th</sup> century president = invisible president  
Roosevelt, Wilson Superstar president (imperial)

Tired of politics - but we can't have a weak presidents

Harding spent 3 hrs. a day / we need one to do 16 hrs. a  
day - businessmen good guys 'til Great Depression

"let businessmen tell govt what to do"

Great depression could have been averted -

Harding lets cabinet members run their own  
department

more concerned w/ personal appearance than who one's  
congressmen is / what he's doing.

March 15, 1978

	A	B	C	D
A	5	8	9	5
B	2	5	5	2
	7	13	14	7

Fri. discuss term project

### - IMPORTANCE OF AD-MASS -

1920's socially important - "enjoy the good life"

one is not born to be a dutiful life

overwhelming sense of monotony, structure,  
responsibility - broken in '20's

### PROB OF MENTALITY:

Rude stock & stock market crash - of the  
Great Depression

- social and political terms: Great Depression  
great amount of effect

Generations of Parents (Grandparents) grow up thru

G.D. and then WWII - raises children (spoils them

(rotten) -- ~~said~~ when they rebel # folks say "You never  
knew the problems of the G.D."

- Optimism & Democracy: "Tomorrow better!"

- suspended during G.D. - return after WWII

- during G.D. if one loses job "it's your fault"  
"foot the - fault" in 60's - 70's everybody else  
is blamed.

GD. worried everyone in society  
 30's "There's something wrong w/ society"  
 29-30 "There's something wrong w/ us"  
 33? "How about society"

Causes:

D Stock market crash

A) Even though crash, if it could have set right  
 in '31 GD would have been avoided

① <sup>spring</sup> 29-30 Speculators hit!

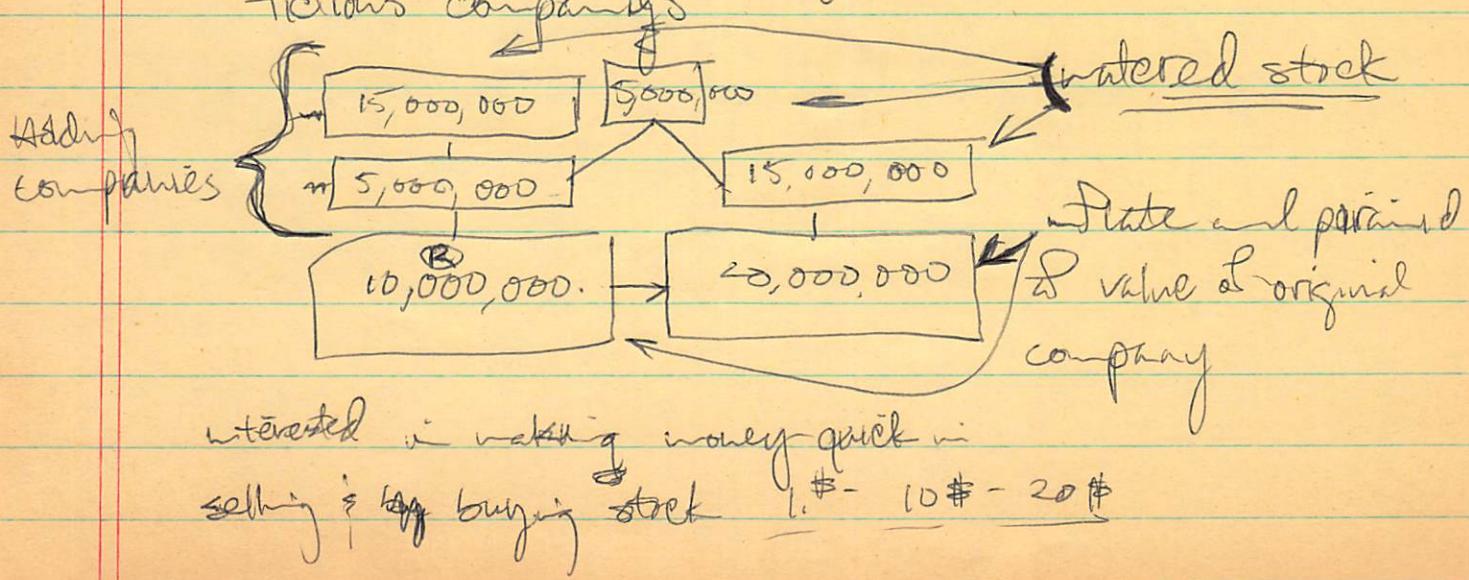
② 1933: market fails to regenerate <sup>itself</sup>  
 investors hit. make money off dividends.

Prolonged decline - largest decline

B) Weak Corporation Structure: no corporate development, weak the

Holding Company: building basically ~~the~~

fictitious companies



Unemployment Insurance  
Investment in  
Social Security } developed cause  
of Depression

- Adelphi's company stock is worth less  
than stock

Bryozan margin

mid-class (100.% west) west 2000.\$

need not be 10% silent

L 1000<sup>f</sup> tanks loan 1000 at 6% interest

~~12,000 \$  
falls your loss~~

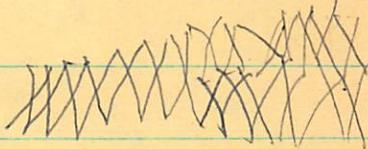
March 17, 1978

Essay

What does History do?

Is it science?

What kind of truth?



Irridencence of most American Hist.

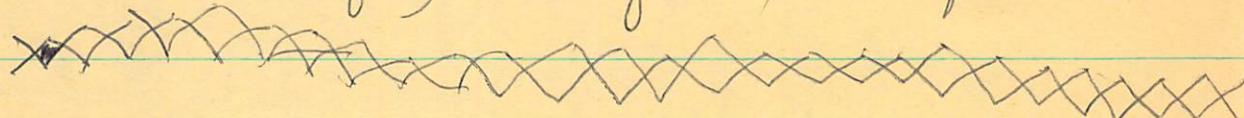
what are you suppose to get out of this course.

Thought must be shown!

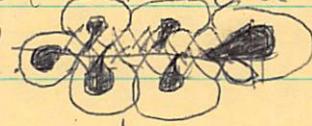
Grade school - patriotic history -

high school } "more" realistic  
college ) history

All education has  
certain amount of  
thought control



ability changes the values & people -- sometimes good  
or bad

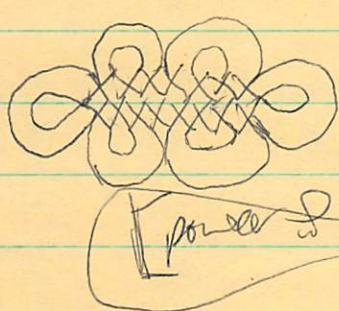


influence

one group democracy - elitism

my way

good fight has  
seen fight



power of the discipline



DEPRESSION!

March 29, 1978

EXAM April 5, 1978 - Wed.

Compare FDR & Hoover in dealing with depression  
Examination: causes of depression

① conservative econ explain: major cause was international depression.

② liberal " " : accept international depression but ~~had~~ misdistribution of wealth -- mass consumption = goods to make money you need money -- if you have no money you can't consume need adequate income to buy adequate goods

① Agriculture: prosperity to 20's is in cities  
war invest in land etc., war ends  $\nearrow$  boom

② textiles: uniforms war goods war ends  $\nearrow$  boom  
wages and laws

③ mining: same

④ Political leadership: Amer. Cap. collapsed '29-30  
most econ. believed invisible laws governed economy - you're going to have prob., recess, depress.  
-- nothing can be done about this --

Both Parties believed that you can't spend your way out of the depression [they did nothing!] FDR & Hoover

Hoover: don't put people on the dole [welfare] -

Arch-progressive is most admired man after TR & Wilson.  
born poor man rise to successful businessman go through  
political belt: best qualified to be pres.

Ex. grade system intellect & initiative: need both  
for graded.

Never had anything like this before: months & months  
pass -- "Hooverville's across the nation" Nothing can do!

Later Hoover gets working: more timid but more  
is it better, Based on Trickle-down theory --  
introduced money at higher levels [loans]  
to banks and corporations -- did more than any  
other Amer. President but not enough.

Relief thru <sup>private</sup> charity and city & state [not federal]  
tax funds - "He who has should, share with he who  
has not."

Hoover: FDR were capitalist -- tried to save  
capitalistic system: govt said manipulate econ. & H.W.  
conservative, FDR liberal:

capitalism right & choice - FDR have to save  
cap. -- put govt has to, help the people in need!  
H.W. "Laissez faire" govt intervening with destroy personal  
freedoms and capitalism.

At FDR inauguration: half states have no operating  
banks; other half closed their banks. "Emergency  
banking act;" crisis proportions - first firestide

charts - FDR reopens banks, tells people to put their money back in banks. They do!

He could have nationalized bank -- congress thirsty for leadership - they theoretically would have passed - He was a capitalist!

"P believing..." diff between Hoover & FDR  
people (masses) have confidence in him [charisma]

+

Huckle Brook Curio Inv 5 March 31, 1978

Uncle Remus 17

Discord of Oz 34

The Lizard 60

Servius Fanny 68

What is involved - why are they important pieces

of art but more than pieces of art?

causes of Depression

success or lack of New Deal

work & relief	Recovery (National Planning)	Reform (saving center rail road power)	Capitalism by reforming
FDR accepted the fact that people are suffering			it)
and its the govt's responsibility to help the people			

① FERA

Fed Emergency

Relief Administration

out to  
out relief us state  
B + I → stated out to ready

## Relief

② CWA  
Civilian Works Admin.  
fed. govt min. wage to firms  
for fed. projects  
(hospitals repair etc.)  
4 million (peak 1934)

③ WPA  
works progress admin.  
PWA  
public works admin.  
⑤ CCC  
civilian conservation corp.  
"Vista" Peace Corp  
forestry, single young men

there was offering elected  
but also "boondoggling"

As the economy <sup>only</sup> began to rise  
Rep. & Dem. say "ok  
w/ relief - don't want  
permanet class of people  
dependent on govt."

Recovery  
- 36 AAA  
NRA  
constitutional  
supp. Congress

④ FERA  
Agriculture Adjustment Admin.  
~~curb production~~  
raise prices --  
set national quotas -  
subsidy -  
NRA  
National Recovery Admin.

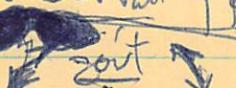
codes & control:  
① production level  
determined  
② price & profit  
③ wages & workers  
④ hours

to help business  
you have to help both  
business & workers

fed. govt must have  
say on wage/hrs.,  
production limits -  
cause it's not happening  
on its own

## Section 7A

"Fed. govt recognize right  
workers to labor to organize &  
create big labor to  
deal w/ big business  
[controlling power]



- business ~~labor~~ -  
Adversary bargaining

## Reform

1. Stockmarket & Banking  
Securities & 1933 -  
no buying stocks  
no holding campaigns  
Securities & Exchange  
Commission  
SEC - prevent fraud in  
Stock M.

- FDIC - 1933  
Fed. Deposit Insurance  
Act

Mortgage Guarantees -  
money refinanced  
org. - don't let people  
be taken off their  
homes - & farms

April 7, 1978

αβγδεγνθικλπροξτροζτυψχψω

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΠΡΕΤΥΨΧΦΩ

εψω εψη - λεψί δ Ιηοος ~~αμνη~~, αμνη, λεψω  
learn resource center 204 Rm.

wed. - class

(Rd. 3 articles) cond. in Amer. are different therefore

History useless what does Hs. do for us?

- " good if the rules have changed

- " good

now do you think ??



[periodicals reserve desk - Vetinaria]

Great penalty for Late papers

5-7 pp. don't summarize articles

- make concise statement w/ references  
H.S.

Should the U.S. have attacked Germany (F)

Britain - German War

U.S. - total war

Feb. 25, 1917 - Zimmerman note intercepted  
no public statement

March 1<sup>st</sup> 1917 - 2 (?) Amer. ships sunk!

" 20, 1917 - U.S. declares war

April 6, 1917 - Congress " " - Zimmerman note  
made public.

dissent at vote; once ships sunk - most back

(all) motives are moral - not bankers, investors etc.

Bryan stay out of war is ~~without~~ principle!  
U.S. strict accountability, " " !

govt seldom follows to people - generally leads  
the people -

(WWII clearest war in 20<sup>th</sup> century: white/black issue full public backing)

Always happened in war

① country always has to sell war

② " " " keep w/ check dissenters

George Creel committee: govt com... sell war  
many editors, ~~writers~~, artists hired to  
push war - "all people" "in essence" are  
"traitors"

April 10, 1978

40
125
65
35
180

Wed. in Library 204 ~~104~~ - Los Angeles

Fri. " " " News Books

Prior to Depression: Big Business

New Deal gave us Big Labor, Big Govt  
not dominant Amer. Society is Bigness  
centralization helped us with WWII -

- we live in post war etc.

- starr. & welfare society

Is Amer. Society going in the wrong direction?

- do we need Big ... CIA, FBI, welfare?

- or should we liquidate programs - tone down  
Labor, Business, Govt.

US unprepared for WWI

- Wilson w/ Versailles (us should be intervening  
power - active role) -- Voted down the treaty --  
didn't want to have to use the League of Nations
- went back to isolationists ('20, '30)

After WWI -- US had 17th largest army.

- Allied powers (US, Fr., Br.) were weaker than  
Axis (Gr., It., H.) - we needed Russia

World was getting smaller -

J.S. Had to fight WW II

Issues in fighting war:

① Roosevelt knew we had to - public didn't want to - loan - lease program (FDR) Bonds public will → As WW did before (1916) speaks to Non-intervention yet begins to step up aid - wanted to prepare for WWII as much as possible

step out of Depression by making war material

- Kennedy → Space program -

- LBJ → war material -

- Japan not in Versailles - didn't recog. Japan as equal power - Defeat Russia - big stock

During Japanese expansion - U.S. gives moral instruction - (TR said if you're going to give moral instruction you need Army or Navy since you need to inflict our will) - Pearl Harbor defensive move - etc.



Casablanca Conference ('43) unconditional surrender

Marshall plan (New Deal) -- strip Germany's industrial power - make agricultural power.

Had to fight Germ. ① Strategic Bombing: cheap (limits of air power) thought bombing would break will -

② How to fight land war: Br. wants  
guerrilla warfare - we wanted large frontal  
attack

Delay D Day [Russia upset - Churchill  
wants to draw Ger. // Russia] distrust

starch

April 18, 1978

## Holocaust

wed. 7:30 - 8:00 - Amer. between the Wars

### The Atomic Bomb -

what was important of Holocaust (last night) -  
"Internment of Japanese"

major & minor were Amer. citizens  
can't compare treatment to Japanese & Germans

The idea of "Patent Protection" is not suppose to  
rise in a high intellectual society -- but in  
Germany was a great deal of intelligence

- post-war developments - critical period:  
reconstruction of Asia (Aug 6, 1945)

Hiroshima →

Nagasaki →

"Truman never seriously thought should  
we not drop it?" Science or military not advised  
completely -- totally of administrative process only  
ask supporters of bomb.

- run the risk if the bomb not working - July 26, 1945

Aug. 8 Russia declares war - why didn't Truman  
wait

405,000 - Amer. died in WWI (50 mill. in world)

no foresight: just win war then sit down consider post-war world:

positive idea: Russian invasion of Japan may have resulted in divided Japan (i.e. E & W Germany)

- were not only going to defeat Japan but punish them (for Pearl Harbor etc.)

- Some historians say that A-bomb drop was illustration to USSR to get it together

- say US start cold war (late ~~cold~~ 2nd front, devastated homeland)

major powers are imperial powers  
generally moralities is ~~is~~ low priority on  
govt ~~than~~ policies -- survival more important

- volunteered army means were going to dependence  
- Nuclear power -  
volunteer (i.e., "professional" army)

April 19, 1978

Yalta (Internationalism vs. sphere of influence)  
Truman Doctrine  
Marshall Plan ] containment

Eisenhower - Containment through Massive Retaliation  
(Atom over conventional defense).

(John Foster Dulles)

Amer. imperialism of threat & force

Soviet is of concrete control

(Major powers are by def. imperial powers)

- ① All parties to call con. - April '45 - (UN Charter)  
~~②~~ Soviet Union given 3 assembly votes  
~~③~~ England has "3 votes" [Eng., Canada, Australia]  
~~④~~ U.S. has absolute vots in Security Council  
(So Stalin will trust him - Stalin [USSR] has superiority complex)
- ③ Free election in Europe -
- ④ won't build strong Poland at expense of Russia + will give Kuril Islands and basic control of Manchuria -  
--- in return for attack of Japan by USSR, 3 mos. after defeat of Germany
- ⑤ Try & German war crimes -- territories & occupations -

- All these issues to show Russia that we should try to live together -
- FDR tries to convince Stalin by his charisma
- Free elections never occur (1948 no democratic govt left in Eastern Europe) in signing of Atlantic Charter Stalin said that he wouldn't stand for any Anti-Stalin forces in E. Europe. --

Communist Victories

April 12, 1945 - FDR dies  
 May (?) 1945 - "Take as much territory as possible" Churchill

Truman leaves decision up to Eisenhower ~~McAuliffe~~ - who feels that #1 is destruction of Germany ~~Germany~~ Army not take land.  
 (Germany "stronghold" to the south east of Berlin - that's where the U.S. goes from Prague to Berlin)

May 3, 1945 Germany surrenders cap. of Czechoslovakia  
 40's - 50's Foreign policy  
 After war European state of collapse

Truman Doctrine - we will intervene militarily anywhere ~~anywhere~~ where communists threat to demand govt of

April 26, 1978

- Passive Public Will

- Non-participation & Politics & Emotion

~~Corporate~~ Corporate Teamwork

Anarchial Individualism

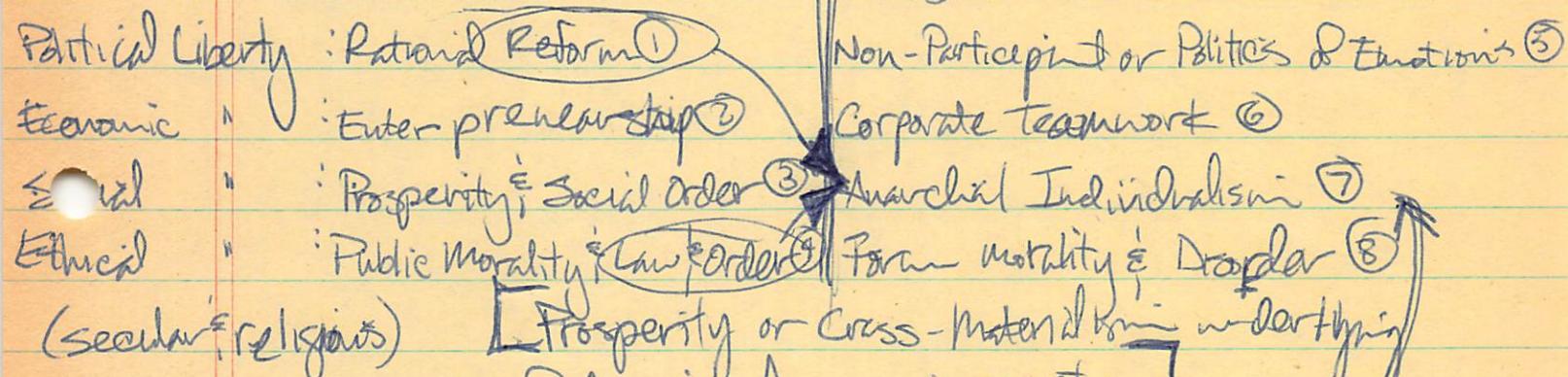
Form Morality & Disorder

Since WWII  
Is best of wealth

60's 70's

Assertive Public Will

Passive Public Will



Changes are they

Rational Reform good for law  
order or self?

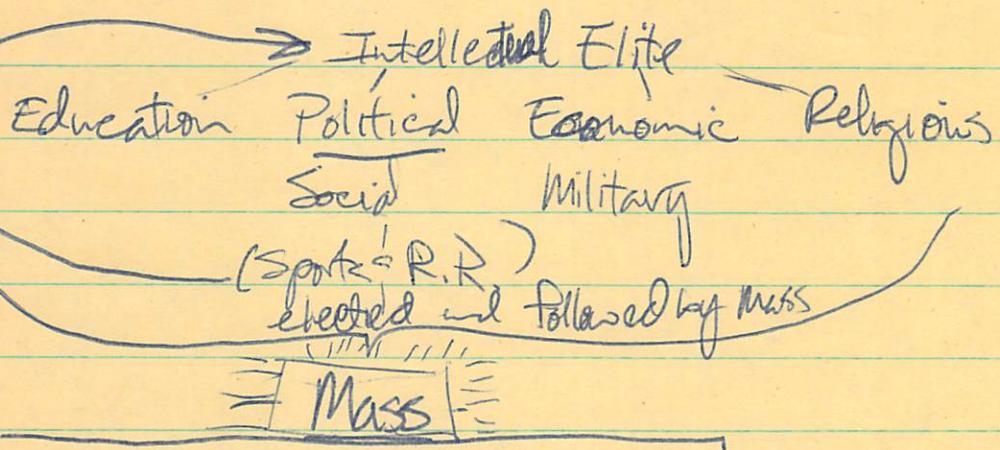
⑤ 53% of Eligible Voters (registered) vote for Pres.

⑥ won't blow whistle - I'm just a part

⑦ "feels good, do it!"

⑧ Believe X is wrong; but doesn't necessarily do anything to support it

Basis (Historical) of Amer. Politics:  
Intellectual Elite



← Func. Ed - technician to fit in system

Cross-section displace Intel. elite by Sports & R&R  
 Elites - not listening to or care about the Intel. programs

Crass - capitalists and not good Americans (Amer.: following  
 Jeffersonian idea of Elitism)

Downfall of Society - inability to control technology

~~April~~ May 1, 1978

Segregated Army: Fighting for freedom against  
the Nazis and

Nazish but . . .

~~shortage~~ - moment  
of time → set ideas  
of our own  
shortage

90% blacks in rural South after WWII  
move to urban dwellers ---

## Urbanization causes:

## ① centralization

## ② concentrated element

- at war's end many women & blacks are displaced - 50's prosperity allows displaced blacks to consumer based industries --

(good wage relative to past -- which increases your expectations [people who expect worse or fear that what they have will be taken = revolution not from the poor but the Working Class])

## ③ Rising Expectation 1954

④ Brown vs. Board of Ed. (Topeka, Kan.) - segregation has to end - no more "separate but equal". "equal protection of the law" - 14<sup>th</sup> Amend. struck down "separate but equal" "Plessy vs. " "

1955 - School integration - deliberate speed

1957- Ike pres.: Central High School Little Rock, Arkansas. --- Ike introduces law & Plan!

1957 Civil Rights Act - Black voting rights  
60) " " " - Rep. refers, make sure no  
one's being intimidated!

difficult to talk about "Slaves in Eastern Europe  
with 'Slaves' still in this country."

NACP - Marshall - go to court "white  
National Urban League" main document should  
be black man's document.

2nd Martin Luther King: '55 Bus boycott.  
in Montgomery, Ala. by 56 buses  
integrated

Soul Force - must have ~~#~~ pessimist attitude  
Follow Thoreau, Ghandi - pessimism  
the way of Civil Disobedience - break law  
peacefully w/ moral cause

— Sit-ins at lunch-in counters

by 1960 -- Northern whites see occurrence

& Black Civil Rights as good, South  
gonna have to give up Southern White  
Supremacy - pessimism show that black  
were not into radical revolution + South not  
North

Congress of Racial Equality - CORE - Freedom  
riders (white's organization) go in public places  
& occupy -

SNCC - support necessary black violence

NACP

VL

Southern Christian

CORE

SNCC

1962 - mounting activism - James Meredith enrolls  
in Miss. Univ.

63 - Birmingham, Ala. leads gen discrimination  
↓ march (King)

Eugene "Bull" Connor - Chief of Police  
Chief of Police using force to break up peaceful  
movement, on T.V (press coverage) gained  
sympathy -

George Wallace deny 2 Black women entrance to  
'63 March to Lincoln memorial Ala. U.

"I Have dream" speech = "we shall overcome"  
- passion tied in with the desire of  
Amer. society

Some blacks didn't want to pay the price for freedom  
- can we force freedom on them  
can they opt out.

May 3, 1978

late 50's early 60's

- Nationalization of Civil Rights movement
  - Kennedy Administration "liberal" - i.e. sympathetic to C.R.M.
  - elevation of Black appointees
    - fed. bureaucracy

J.F.K. used executive power & no legislative power for C.R. legislation.

J.F.K. "luminous" & liberal - yet always under estimated C.R.M.

- ① politics of re-election
- ② major southern Power
- ③ under-estimated C.R.M.

- R.K. -- Alab. & Miss. U. sends troops when these U.'s integrated

- Birmingham march - J.F.K conservative support

- Washington march

Johnson Administration

CRA. 1964 - fair employment Act commission

- stiffer C.R.A. than J.F.K.'s

LBJ "War on Poverty" (1964)

Racial consciousness of Poor in Rural South: results looking at Negroes

800 mil. dollars on poverty program

C.R.A 1965

CRA 1965

"Selma March" - Right to Vote; on brief Police Riot on TV.  
Senseless brutality)

CRA 1965

① Fed. examiners to insure vote

②  $\rightarrow$  literacy test

24<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1965)

Drop laws poll tax

End of major per. in history

1865-1965 - economic progress

Slavery outlawed but not "unforced"  
getting political & constitutional rights was a  
milestone but tip of iceberg

64-65 split of CRM

- white liberals being thrown out of CRM

- Black Riots "not race riots" "not black vs.

whites" -- "Black ~~voted~~ voted against property"

(cause of economic progress)

~~over local impressions~~ - "white racism"

66-67 - CR split

67: Black Panthers Huey Newton

67 SNCC: "Black Power" ~~an integrationist~~ ~~but~~  
Student Non-Violent C ~~Commission~~ <sup>black owned</sup>

- Car Dealers - white etc. borrow 9% to 16%

black, barrio 16% - 32%

Supermarkets - produce to whites then  
black (at higher price).

- Move to control not integration! (separate but equal?)

Black consciousness - "we're making moves  
in constitutional rights but in the economic and social  
sector we're not going to get it done -- we want  
control, rather, of our own culture"

Black culture - not white culture in Black skin

- "black can ~~be~~ & practice black culture but be good  
American."

- Black movement dissipates

## BROWN REVOLUTION - etc.

- lagged behind because of no white liberal support -  
the movement tied immediately with the  
military -

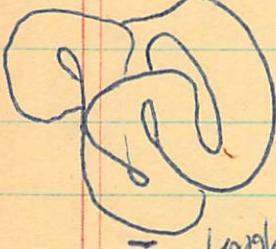
advantage - culture just over the border - continual  
renewal of culture

## ~~THE~~ WOMEN'S Movement

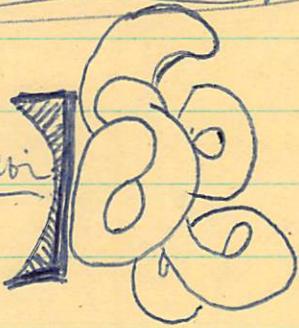
No sexual Equality today - unless Govt or Public Agencies  
GAP movement

Right for political/constitutional equal

## Writing Preserving Constitutional Rights -



Cycles - predestination  
Freewill -



- looking at the beginning ; end of 60's  
(60) Ike - military industrial complex  
threatening demo" - erosion of military  
; corporation "hostile tendency" --  
late 60's Ralph Nader - multi-national corp.  
influence on US. govt  
concentration of econ. power & centralisation  
of ~~power~~ govt.

Rural - Urban - Suburbs

defusing people

people spreading out - white govt, econ power  
centralizing

urbans

blacks, puerto Ricans, cubans

Suburbans

white

has big govt reached its maximum efficiency (in  
reference to Big cities)

should we dismantle govt & business

should we dismantle big govt.  
business setting standards -

↳ Fam. Social Boundaries

Foreign policy Kennedy Administration  
(might be feasible to dismantle economic/  
political centralization)

- defense (atomic warfare)

- ① can we afford it
- ② too many Amer. involve in war goods jobs

No war or poverty or integration

- ① no redistribution of wealth
- ② " " " " at housing.

Therefore no one is willing to take a job  
over defense [closing bases]

→ JFK: escalate arms race; defense spending

→ J.F. K to L.B.J - 10 years of straight  
prosperity - increase space race, increasing  
military armament. [liberal version  
Hoover's trickle down]

(Problem of Power Empire: control of technology)  
Ours: Russia's inability to cease arms race.

JFK. (Robert Dulles) eventual confrontation.

- realized neither US nor USSR can afford nuclear war -- developed peaceful "co-existence"  
"Détente"

integral. peace worldwide Pax Americana

let every nation go, well either ill or well...  
support any friend, oppose any foe...".  
later said.

"we're only 9% of the world population.  
America is no omnipotent. There are 91%  
of the world out there -- we can't press  
our influence on them ...".

JFK realize "world diversity":

- most of the world doesn't care about the US or  
USSR -- just don't blow up the world.
- economic war in 3rd world
- w/ Aid ~JFK "didn't" demand them to toe  
American line -

why Soviet Union go for it:

they've shortages in their own country - never  
be able compete econ. with U.S.

- heavy military involvement

→ JFK actions vs rhetoric:

USSR wouldn't comply therefore developed  
Counter-insurgents. CIA, Green Berets grow.  
1st used in Latin America: Bay of Pigs,  
handful of guerrillas -- "Castro pressure power -  
and in guerrillas people will revolt - ha, ha  
well win easy."

Economic Alliance Program in Latin America.

U.S. backs to create economic democracy.

Vietnam: → JFK Administration.

May 10, 1978

why go to war.

① SEATO South East Asia Treaty Organisation  
Agreed to aid treaty nation in the event of  
communist aggression - treaty didn't obligate us  
to enter war -

Gen MacArthur "Catastrophic if U.S. gets in-  
volved in land war in Asia."

② Defend democracy = Catholic minority.

Robert McNamara - technological engineer

Kill Ratio; fight war w/ 100 man power - win war  
by simply killing numbers - "cheap war"  
Dresden, Ger.; can't break their will with bombs --

(why go to war in S.E. Asia)

① meeting of Kruschev - giving E. Germany control of Berlin fuel supply - Airlift

② Cuban Missile Crisis -

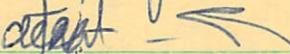
= K. pushed J.F.K. to the wall --- why?:

J.F.K. seen by N.K. ~~that~~ as a "Dumb, Socialite, ~~high~~ Fly-weight intellectual  
Idea: We have to make this stand in South East Asia!"

- J.F.K. by S.V. w/ aid - accept democratic principles - S.V. corrupt govt.  
- didn't work! - J.F.K. didn't want war in S.E.A.

as country seeking liberation but ~~but~~ a outside ~~act~~ of aggression!

- why did we stay so long -

63 - people of U.S. couldn't handle (psychologically)  
~~defeat~~ 

'64 - election

- will to fight; can't be stopped by Super-Powers

what are the long range consequences?

- rather than learn to be pick and choose to whom we will intervene more carefully --  
we simply will not intervene anywhere.

'45  $\Rightarrow$  domestic policy  
foreign policy

~~essay~~ - foreign policy  
- principles

- containment under Truman

- " " " Ike

determinism "detente"  $\leftarrow$  Kennedy  
Johnson - Nixon?

Korea

Vietnam

= significance Hungarian Revolution  
Nature of American Society

- soc./pol. value (50s, 60s, 70s)

[ "ME" generation -- or "TOXIC" gen -- junk foods,  
drugs, ]

American since the war (II) -- VALUE -

doomsdayers - they appear every generation

- weird doing okay -

welfare state - doin' ok, reached point that it  
should be dismantled, solved social problems.

[ stress individuality over group -- vs. (eg.)  
Norway Socialistic welfare state stress group  
over individuality ]

- foreign policy

- values in Amer. society.

} state in specifics  
Essay - opinions

- non-draft Army
- the "Me" Society
- Indian Movement

Hubble questions: The strong parallel in all articles - what was it about Axis, Dean, what do they say about society - bring them together - post '45 Society - reduce each article down to one sentence statement.

(2 line books)

- Must take final appropriate time
- willingness to sacrifice, willingness to fight.

## FOREIGN POLICY

Basic prob. in Amer. Policy -- raw materials [chrom, copper, etc.] needs -- econ. dependency on Africa -- (support existing govt) -- free issue that there'll be black rule (should be supporting "freedom fighters" -- blacks -- but should we support moderates, liberals etc.)

Japan - no military army --- U.S. troops defend democracy in Asia -- Should we encourage them to develop Army.

--- Totalitarian govt over demo. govt. ---

Historically Army been social institution -  
upward social mobility : seems of U.S. --

To what extent are they meeting their own military  
need --

For policy may undergo change --

voicing China, U.S. play both sides

Arms race -

Atomic capability



May 17, 1978

Stability of 2-party system -

It's really impossible to elect left or right wing  
to presidency --

not really but stability is in people -

conservativism - things can be done within  
the system -- inherent optimism

(Violence always a part) no massive unionism  
always conservatism ~~material~~

don't get things in American society because  
they are just or same but because sense of things

- changes due to people willing (able to afford) change -- note that most massive bounty available there is a move slightly to right --

if possessed are refused they will pull to the right!

Democrat slightly more (inherently) more to left - welfare, road programs; Republics more right --

as influence decreases the possessed scamper to retain wealth ex.

Tarvis said: pitting possessed (land-holding) middle-class vs dispossessed middle-class --

IMPACT OF AFFLUENCE: Always felt that it's always better to work within system than without

— ENERGY CRSES "passing fail" or real crises than alternative ~~fail~~ energy source

INDIVIDUAL SHOULD BE ACTIVE - cannot go thru life thinking that all you can do is enjoy life -- unions - featherbedding // University: "can't fail" OUTSIDE WORLD: You CAN FAIL -- subversives on the inside

Wake Up to the world condition.

wrong things policies Amer. Foreign policy

Turkey Greece Truman doctrine

Munich Test Balance treaty -

- Santo Domingo -

- Detroit

- Ike & Lebanon

- Italy & France

strategies // changes

Truman on...

Nature of American society (values)

50's → 60's → 70's

Abortion - Gay Rights Oil consumption -

Family Structure - Decline of Religion -

Integration - Urbanization -

70's from left to right → "sick generation"

Result of welfare materialistic State =

Left: materialistic "won't share bounty"

Right: welfare "on the dole."

Basic morality: prohibit pre-marital sex & marriage to stay

-- allows promiscuity & marriage 'til 'tis no longer

~~sticky~~.

Either were the sickest generation -- -  
result of Voltage/Capitalist generation.

- were just ~~sheep~~

possessed & depossessed

middle class - homeowner - nonhomeowner  
historically → voters → non-voters

New Deal - basic principles - long range  
effects

peaceful coexistence - detente

Dulles - containment & liberation  
modern nuclear war - limited

Truman Doctrine : containment

South Korea -- invaded by North Korea.  
can't fight ~~China~~ Zaire cause Congress  
won't declare it -- forgot about it in  
South Korea & South Vietnam --

creating illusion that you can get away  
with lawlessness

- society "organized tyranny"

MacArthur: "potential presidential candidate ---"

under Truman, obey // S. Korea not that important ---

Democratic

S. America

Draft army ↔ All volunteer Army

concept of total pleasure:

"what's good for us"

50's - affluence - materialism

60's - reform - materialism (reform cheap)

70's - materialism (reform means sacrifice)

"water & dope not different disease."

materialism - is not in itself is not ~~#\$~~ wrong.

Fundamental differences between "everyone should have running water"; "everyone should have dope & drugs"

ex. "every family should have 1 car" or

"every family should have at least 3 \$30,000.00 dollar cars!"

essays

~~opinions~~

what's right/wrong Reagan policy

" " " " welfare state

destroyed Authority !!

Know major issue, analyse clearly -  
responsible to know issue

②. 8

AHA Newsletter, Vol. 15 No. 9 (December, 1977), pp. 3-6.

### The Relevance of History: Three Views

David Herbert Donald, Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University, recently published an article that has provoked a number of reactions. This article, titled "Our Irrelevant History," appeared in the September 8, 1977 edition of The New York Times. On September 26, 1977, Edward L. Keenan, professor of history and dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, published a response in the Times. Newsletter readers may not have seen this interesting exchange of views; thus, the two articles are reprinted here. The Newsletter also received and includes a response to Donald from Blanche Wissen Cook, associate professor of history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY.

#### Mr. Donald's View —Our Irrelevant History\*

In a few days college classes will begin again, and I am once more preparing new lectures on American history. For teachers this is always a time for self-scrutiny and self-doubt, but this fall, as I begin my fourth decade of college teaching, I am even more troubled than usual in deciding what I ought to do in the classroom.

Surely my function is not to make certain that the several hundred undergraduates enrolled in my courses absorb additional facts about American history. Of course, a great many of my students are woefully ignorant of the past. If asked to estimate the population of the United States in any decade since the 1790s, most would be off by at least 50 percent. Few can distinguish between William Henry Harrison and Benjamin Harrison. Only a handful can unscramble the alphabetic names of the major New Deal agencies. But these deficiencies—like the many similar ones reported in last year's *New York Times* survey of college students' knowledge of American history—do not seriously trouble me.

A student who really needs to know such facts can find them more readily, and I fear more accurately, in Richard B. Morris's *Encyclopedia of American History* than in my lec-

tures. And, hard as it is for me to admit, most students probably don't need to know the answers. It is entirely possible to lead a happy and successful life without knowing when the Civil War ended or being certain whether Theodore Roosevelt preceded Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Nor is it my classroom duty to train a future generation of historians. Most of my undergraduates already have other careers in mind. Since the job prospects for historians are somewhat bleaker than those for blacksmiths, those few students who think of making history their profession should be encouraged to look elsewhere. Since my students have no professional interest in the discipline of history, it is not important to me to explain to them the limitations of the *Congressional Record* as a source or to introduce them to the mysteries of the manuscript census returns. Nor do I need to teach them much about the historiographical controversies that scholars discuss among themselves too much.

It really does not matter whether these undergraduates know five major criticisms of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis or whether they associate the psychoanalytical interpretation of Andrew Jackson with the name of Michael Paul Rogin.

What undergraduates want from their history teachers is an understanding of how the American past relates to the present and the future. But if I teach what I believe to be the truth, I can only share with them my sense of the irrelevance of history and of the bleakness of the new era we are entering.

For up to the present generation, Americans have been, as David M. Potter called us, "The People of Plenty." From the earliest settlements, our abundance of land, of agricultural and mineral wealth, of energy sources, shaped the national character. From that abundance we have derived our most amiable American traits—our individualism, our generosity, our incurable optimism; to it we also owe our wastefulness,

our extravagance and our careless self-confidence.

Abundance led Americans to develop distinctive ways of coping with social problems. When the American farmer protested against exploitation by merchants, when the American laborer objected to the power of the capitalists, when the West complained about the dominance of the East, we were never required to consider any thoroughgoing restructuring of American society. To all complaints that the slices of the American pie were unevenly distributed, we responded not by making the pieces more even but by making the pie larger. Material abundance made it possible for everybody to receive more.

Now the age of abundance has ended. The people of plenty have become the people of paucity. Our stores of oil and natural gas are rapidly running out, and other natural resources will soon be exhausted. If we save what is left, we choke our economy; if we use it, we impoverish our posterity.

Consequently, the "lessons" taught by the American past are today not merely irrelevant but dangerous. We can no longer answer demands for equalizing the rewards of our society by cooking up a bigger pie.

Instead, as our problems grow constantly larger, the chances of solving them drastically diminish. Unlike every previous American generation, we face impossible choices. If we have guns, we cannot have butter. If we reduce unemployment, we produce inflation. If we hire women, we must fire men. If we give blacks preference in admission to colleges and professional schools, we exclude whites.

What, then, can a historian tell undergraduates that might help them in this new and unprecedented age? Perhaps my most useful function would be to disenthral them from the spell of history, to help them see the irrelevance of the past, to assist them in understanding what Lincoln meant in saying, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present."

Perhaps, too, I can make it easier for some to face a troubled future by reminding them to what a limited extent humans control their own destiny.

As I begin my new set of lectures on American history, I will take my text from Reinhold Niebuhr: "Nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in our lifetime; therefore we must be saved by hope."

\*©1977 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

### Mr. Keenan's View —One Harvard Historian to Another\*

Dear David:

It was a pleasant surprise to come upon your essay "Our Irrelevant History" in today's *New York Times*, and to discover, from your first few paragraphs, how similar are our concerns in what you call this "time of self-scrutiny and self-doubt."

I, too, struggle each semester with uncertainty about the worth of "facts" in the classroom, and even, when the hour is late, with darker doubts about the worthiness of my activity in general. I, too, despair for the young historians who can find no jobs, and for the Republic that provides them none.

But I had always assumed that those who, like yourself, were occupied with the "mainstream," our own history, had less cause for such misgivings than does a teacher of medieval Russian history. How fortunate, I thought, were you, to be imparting the outlines of the common national experience

to students who might shape its continuation around your interpretation of its meaning!

The more, then, my surprise in discovering that you and I emerge from our pre-term self-examination with such radically different conclusions. It may be that temperament is at work here, or perhaps a half-generational difference, but I suspect that other factors are involved as well. Two of these are, I would suggest, the fact that I have been studying and teaching a history and culture that are not originally my own, and the fact that ideology, the materialist interpretation of history, and the continuity of national culture are so central to any consideration of Russia's history.

It is this professional experience, I think, that leads me to profound disagreement with what I take to be the central point of your essay: "Consequently, the 'lessons' taught by the American past are today not merely irrelevant but dangerous."

Relevance, like other forms of meaning, is contingent upon context and mode of thought. History is relevant, if only because young people want, as you yourself say, "an understanding of how the American past relates to the present and the future," and because that understanding will influence their self-perception and behavior.

History is relevant, if only because readers will respond to your eloquent essay out of an intuitive awareness that historical argument is relevant. Logically, indeed, if history were in fact irrelevant, your statement that it is irrelevant would be irrelevant—and we both know that such is not the case.

The question, then, is not whether history is relevant—individuals and nations will continue to find relevance in historical fact or myth, whatever our poor efforts—but what the relevance of a given historical experience might be to a given current or future one—that is, *how* is it relevant?

Here I come again to context, and to mode of thought. While it would be imprudent and graceless to challenge your interpretation of American history as such, I would suggest that, in a broader context, one might derive a slightly different meaning from the facts to which you refer.

For other nations and societies have had periods of wealth and abundance, and have responded to them, in terms of social and institutional development and the production of human resources, differently—I would say less well. One thinks, for example, of Spain in the 16th and early 17th centuries.

Other nations have spread over vast territories rich in good land and natural resources, ravishing and fouling them much as we have—perhaps worse—and now find themselves faced not only with depletion and pollution, but with social, political and spiritual problems far greater than our own. Consider Russia or, to a lesser extent, Brazil.

It is not my purpose to be self-congratulatory, for which, I agree, there is little reason; the causality in the above case is, so far as I can tell, dissociated from any innate moral or spiritual national characteristics. But it is significant that the fortunate immigrants who spread across this continent built not only factories but schoolhouses, free and public, not only mills but—of the same brick—Independent colleges, not only jails but—of the same granite—courthouses, however troubled and beset with doubt these institutions may now be.

And there is some meaning—again in relative context—it is the fact that this population emerged from its brief period of abundance as the bearer of a culture that can embrace both

the most obscene consumption and the most determined—and most powerful—ecology movement; both gross social and racial injustice and the strongest—and most effective—civil and human rights movement, both remarkable cultural stability and rapid social change.

It is not for nothing that Europeans scratch their heads at what has happened in this country in the last two decades or so, "without Marx or Jesus."

You say that the lessons of the past are not only irrelevant, but also "dangerous"; I judge from your further argument that you mean primarily the socio-economic lessons drawn from the age of abundance as we face a more Spartan economic future.

Such a treatment, as you will appreciate, sets off several alarms in the mind of a Russian historian. What is dangerous, it seems to me, is not so much the lessons of the past as the risk of being drawn by present preoccupations into a one-sided and life-denying materialistic view of that past, a view I know not to be yours.

The most important "means of production" and the most crucial resources are human resources, those embodied in a highly trained, inventive and responsive citizenry. Such resources we still have, even in our present travail, in an abundance that is the child of our abundance.

Some of these resources—our students—are, for a time, committed to your care and mine. We must strive against our doubts to teach them to see the past in a context in which they can discover not only that history is relevant, but that they are.

•©1977 The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

### Ms. Cook's View —A Response

David H. Donald's lament for history would be poignant, if it were not so wrong-headed. For many years, decades really, students of history have been taught the correct virtues to celebrate. But many of these virtues were myths. Professor Donald argues that we have been a people of plenty who everywhere shared equitably the American pie. When the pie failed to get around we just baked more. Now, an age of scarcity is upon us and Professor Donald despairs.

He compounds the myth—which stands revealed as a fraud not only for our time but throughout history. He writes "If we hire women, we must fire men. If we give blacks preference . . . we must exclude whites." For centuries prosperity existed for a small group of white men who benefitted from the unpaid and underpaid labor of everyone else. Little has changed. Black unemployment has never been higher. Everywhere minorities and women who were hired during the expansive 1960s are being fired. The myth of reverse discrimination is an outrage in a society that continues to discriminate against minorities of all kinds—not only on the basis of race and sex, but for reasons of familial homeland, religion, sexual preference and political persuasion.

The fact that the age of simple abundance for a small class is coming to an end is no cause for despair. It is a fact of history. History is about time and change and people. When I studied history nobody talked much about people. Massacres of native Americans and the facts of such revolutionary American groups as the Wobblies (the International Workers of the World) and the organized labor movement were sub-

## Worker mentality

jects to be avoided—like discussions of money at high tea. Many students today are already workers! It is true that they do not want to become professional historians. But they do want to learn history: history that is essential to their lives and to an understanding of their world. For the past ten years I have taught a student population comprised largely of New York City policemen and women. They want to understand the relationship between poverty and violence, the complexities of war and peace. They want to know why although they make in dollar-count three times more than their fathers, so many of whom were also cops, they have no more ability to save. They want to know how inflation is regulated by such institutions as the Federal Reserve Bank. They seek the connections between the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the crisis of our municipalities. All those connections that have been obscured for decades by myths of prosperity and historical hypocrisy are now accessible to the students of the 1970s who more and more demand hard knowledge.

Contrary to Professor Donald's disclaimer, it is up to the practitioners of our profession to explore not only the limitations of the *Congressional Record*, but the largely unused and much fuller records of congressional hearings. And our students need to know that when they cannot find a document, hard-working journalists tell us should be there, they must look for the appropriate doctrine—like "the doctrine of plausible presidential deniability." (e.g.: in an era of assassination and covert operation, not all events will be accompanied by historical documents. In part, that is so the presi-

dent, when asked, can plausibly deny any knowledge.)

With so much of our history hanging in still unopened closets, we can only rejoice at a world so rapidly changing that we must seek deeper truths in our history classes. Professor Donald is right. Many of the "lessons" taught by professional historians are not "merely irrelevant but dangerous." They always were. Because they were never true.

The West never did have resources without end. It maintained control over resource-rich territories that now proclaim their sovereignty. And we have now to recognize their independent existence. Such change demands accommodation. For our survival we must seek a world order based on the recognition of planetary scarcity and mutual need. That is progress.

Only people, not the vagaries of "hope" as David Donald concluded, are capable of progress. People can control their own destiny. All human history is a record of the continual struggle to do so—and the frequent and gallant triumphs people have achieved. But control is Donald's word. We need to create a human destiny marked not by control but security and dignity. All over this globe people are embarked on that struggle. We live in revolutionary times, and revolution is a process not an event.

If we aspire to teach history we must avoid the temptation to become antiquarians. During World War II, the great French historian Marc Bloch, a victim of the holocaust, wrote of the difference. Antiquarians revere buildings and institutions. They romanticize the past. Historians are citizens of the present who love life.

## SOCIALIST

What undergraduates want from their history teacher is an understanding of how the American past relates to the present and the future. But if I teach what I believe to be the truth, I can only share with them my sense of the irrelevance of history and the heedlessness of the new era we are # of Democratic Govts diminishing !! enterprising

I couldn't suggest History is irrelevant <sup>that</sup> more than the Future is irrelevant." Len Keeler

## ① What Is Irrelevant History?

i. Relevance?

a. problem-solving

b. time/space local

2. Roots

a. Values -

b. not clinging to the past but pressing forward onto the future

c. end of a process -

## ② What Should History Prof. Present?

d. ex.

- protestantism: reformation important
- tendencies: expansionism

Russian

German

American

- relevance -

noticing problems

## II What Should History prof. present?

① world picture

② tendencies

## I Relevance?

A. what is relevant

1. problem solving

2. time / space totall

B. Values

1. clinging to the past : "antiquarian" Ms. Cook

2. End of a process

C. ex.

1. Protestantism: origin out of Reform or ~~Ancient Christianity~~

2. Studying tendencies: expansion

a. Russia

b. Germany

c. American

## II What should a prof do?

A. Framework of time / space

1. suggesting tendencies vs. indoctrination

2. survey course restrictions

a. course material vs. semester

b. general requirement stigma

B. No fact is "irrelevant" in itself

Sitz

(ZIT) en haben

Relevant

process

existence

Irrelevant

- The Tree  
- Receive

America in the twentieth century in history  
Patterson.

I

WW II: the great divide

A. The expansion of the govt (pp. 307-)

1. From welfare programs to wartime powers.
  - a. from Mr. New Deal to Mr. Win-the-War
  - b. conservative Congress (labor legislation / taxation); Smith-Corona (1943) -- 30 day "cool off" period.

- c. balance of power in pol. parties shift to right
  - 1) Repub. looking for victory in '48
  - 2) CCC & WPA killed; Social Security, TVA, NLRB, minimum wage intact.

↑ defense spending ↑ 7.2 bill to 17 bill.

"Having built a partial welfare state, Congress was not about to dismantle it."

- d. explosion in size of fed. govt - defense spending (9 bill '40 ~ to 98 bill in '45)

- e. expansive Keynesian approach - deficits modest from 46-63 a little pumping could't hurt

F. ~~the~~ growth of presidential power -

1) the Amer. people are authentic prophet.

2) If TR began 20<sup>th</sup> cen. Amer. institution w/ the presidency, WW II transformed it into a long lived affair.

2. Big Gov't: BLESSING OR CURSE.

- a. reformers welcome big presidency (conservative congress) - in '37

- b. by '45 activist central administration was a cardinal tenant of mod. Amer. liberalism

I

A.

2.

c. Even during WWII folks ~~were~~ worried - over-centralization & power (oligarchy)

1) Office of War Information

2) Handing & civil liberties

i) conscientious objectors

ii) Japanese-American "detention" centers

3) "temporarily" problems ↗

d. ~~Bureau~~ Bureaucratic confusion ('39)

1) War Resources Board

Advisory <sup>Commission</sup> ~~Committee~~ at the Council of National Defense

Office of Production Management

2) War Production Board

i) No "czar"

ii) "there is something to be said... for having a little conflict between agencies of little rivalry is stimulating... the fact that there's someone else in the field who knows what you're doing is a strong incentive to strict honesty."

iii) WPB needed authority to establish priorities for allocation of scarce commodities - controlled materials

Plan

3) leading ahead in war production

(syn. rubber in '44: 1 mill. tons - ca. peak in '43 109,000 tons).

4) RESULT:

"Production Miracle -- people see omnipotent America that could move at lightning speed & demolish enemies all over the world. Business men praise themselves -- over looking tremendous govt spending to boast system"

e. The military-industrial complex.

i. Favor to big business

f. Trends

### 3. THE WAR & AMERICAN SOCIETY

1. "Stuart Chase, a liberal economist, surveyed the society at the end of the war & concluded that prosperity had worked wonders that all the measures of the New Deal had failed to bring about. The facts, he said, show a better break for the common man than liberals in 1938 could have ever expected for a generation."

in every econ. indicator behind Chase -  
i) regardless of rating of gas, coffee, timber.  
ii) National income (\$1 billion in '40 - \$2 billion in '45)

b. redistribution of wealth.

i) bottom 5th labor force ↑ 68%  
ii) top fifth .. .. ↑ 20%  
iii) bigger pie.

c. great movement of already mobile people  
(urbanization)

d. Status of women - employment

i) thought to be temporary (in '46)  
ii) in '51 max over 40%

e. Family development

i) wouldn't wait for marriage - or babies

1

B

1.

2.

(ii) baby boom 'till mid-50's

(iv) by '65 post-war babies snap educational institution and create "youth-oriented" cultural

IV Result:

felt by some as very negative: causing

a) increase divorce

b) " in juvenile crime etc.

F. Basic anxiety for the future

2. Have-nots  $\rightarrow$  Have's  $\rightarrow$  Have-nots = revolutionaries  
(unrest)

a. Labor unions - gains

b. Blacks

3. Discrimination

a. NAACP - growth

b. Roosevelt & the Fair Employment Practices Commission

c. Black Muslim

d. CORE leaders & sit-ins (the North)  
Congress on Race Equality

SUMMARY:

"Black and workers like farmers, businessmen, veterans, even specialized groups like educators had caught the scent of prosperity & they wanted desperately to take it once the war was over... this militarily and plenty, this revolution & expectation this struggle not only for security but for slices of an ever larger pie --- all these were among the major social developments of the "Great Leap of WWII"

HISTORY:  
RELEVANT OR IRRELEVANT?

You raise some interesting issues, but your analysis  
is general and brief.

by-

Joseph B. Bustillos

A Paper Submitted to Dr. Jalenik of the History  
Department of Loyola Marymount University in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
HS 162 A

April 21

1978

B-

~~late +~~

I wouldn't say that History is irrelevant  
any more than that the future is irrelevant  
- Len Keeler

When asking the question: "Is the study of History relevant or fruitful to our present situation in life?" one first needs to determine what is "relevant."

Living in our emerging "valueless" society would normally tend to reduce the number of options left to answer the question about ~~the~~ relevance of history. In a socialist society one would expect an answer such as: "Whatever is good for the state is relevant and good." Whereas in a capitalistic society the expected answer would be, as Mr. Donald so unconsciously presented, "Whatever is good in promoting economic expansion, most importantly in my wallet, is relevant and good." Unfortunately, none of these views are sufficient. They are far too shallow and superficial for any real study of history.  
"...For man does not live by bread alone..."

The relevance of history can be seen when one considers that we, as human beings, live in a sphere of time and space. Living in a sphere of time and space essentially means that we as a people, as a nation, as individuals, did not just "out of the blue" come into existence, but that we have a background, a ~~Zeit perhaps.~~ zits en laben, a history. The fact that our own personal history spans little more than twenty years does not make all that went before meaningless. We, in many ways, are the result

of what went before. The facts of that past are just as important or relevant to us as the methods used by Leonardo de Vinci in sculpting his David are important in understanding or grasping the meaning or significance of the statue David.

An example of the relevance of history to today's contemporary society would be the claim made by Protestantism that it is not just a phenomenon that appeared during the Reformation but that it is the actual ancient tradition of the church that was lost during the early centuries of Christianity. It might be argued that the relevance of this proposition is elusive but tho the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young Catholics, such as myself, that are leaving the church to join Protestantism such a claim to historical validity is of the utmost importance. The foundation of our faith rests upon the validity of their claim. *One can also argue that all "history bound religions are mired in myth and that a new religion is the only "valid"*

Yet in seeing the validity of history we cannot permit ourselves to become what Ms. Cook calls "Antiquarians," revering the past for its existence and not for its merit. Such a tendency, seen especially in high school history courses, often leads teachers to push the names and dates without relaying to the pupils the relevance of these facts to their own existence. The ideal, therefore, is to recognize the lessons that history performs for us while at the same time not loosing grip of our own present reality.

As far as what a history professor should do in a survey course is easily established, once one recognizes the value

and the relevance of history. One of the most important factors (one of which my own experience has shown to be lacking in most courses) is for the professor to build an adequate framework or structure of dates and places. The students need to conceptualize the on going process of time. To really appreciate the landscape of particular period of history it is helpful to have a well charted map. The purpose of such a map is, in part, to make history, or at least that portion of history, something that the student can grasp, something that the student can pick up and take home with him, something that he can master.

The second most essential aspect in passing on historical truth (sometimes I find the use of that word in the context of historical study to be somewhat self-righteous) is establishing the "world view" of the particular period. What I mean is that the professor must fill in the details of the map that dates and places leave unmentioned. It is especially important that the professor present all the sides to these issues. And because it is foolish to believe that a professor is going to present his or her course without expressing his or her biases, it should be made clear early in the semester (for all those poor unsuspecting freshmen in the class) that such tendencies exist.

Finally, realizing that the course being taught is a survey course the professor should be conscious of two things that are infamously present in these type of courses: The over

p. 11

In survey courses in all disciplines of which I am aware the general trend has been to reduce the amount of reading, the content of lectures, the ~~too~~ level of grammar accepted in work, among other abundance of material versus the lack of time and the fact that ~~matters~~ because such a course is often a core requirement most students are not present just for their health. How one combats these problems is no easy matter.

All a professor can do, in reference to the lack of time, is to make sure that the time spent in lecturing is evenly distributed among the various subtopics. And in reference to the general apathy of the students, for the most part that is the students responsibility. But what a professor can do is to create an atmosphere of comradeship and therefore make the student feel that they are facing this burden (core requirements) together.

History and its relevance is a question for which in our present society there is no universally accepted answer. I personally feel that history is extremely relevant to my existence. But such a question is put in a box by our society that is marked "Relative Questions."

Teacher enthusiasm can be infectious.